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(1965) distinction between generalized and balanced reciprocity may be useful. Let us note, however, that the relationship between the fictional *apa/eambo* is one where kin distance is infinite (they are not kinsmen) so that according to Sahlins' model, balanced reciprocity should apply. Instead, the norm is generalized reciprocity, as one gives all one has, be it much or little. The crux of the *apa/eambo* relationship, real or fictional, is that property is pooled and belongs to all members of the group equally. When brothers live together, or when they hold land in common and thus are able to live together, such pooling occurs perpetually. Hereditary friends meet rarely – frequently not even as often as once a year. Thus, their ability to use the pool, or contribute to it, is limited. But the manner of giving emphasizes an ideology that is a pooling relationship. Hence, the return visit is obligatory for the host: the gifts given with the first visit express symbolically a statement by partner A to B: "you are my brother." But for the relationship to persist, B must be able to reply in the same idiom: "you, A, are my brother," and he can make this statement only by presenting gifts in his own village.

The ambiguity is now clear: the hereditary friendship relation is one between partners who act out the role of brothers. It is possible to show this ambiguity on the formal level of kinship terminology by inquiring into the term of reference and address used for the wife of an hereditary friend. By the rules of the kinship system, she should be called *hovatu*, but she is in fact called *du*, as the restraints of the affinal relationship are considered too irksome.

Changes in Group Membership Status

From what has been said above, it is clear that the principle of generalized reciprocity holds with regard to the equivalence of gifts between friends. The mythological charter explicity states that a small gift in times of shortage, is to be deemed equivalent to a large gift in times of abundance. On the other hand, the principle of balanced reciprocity holds concerning the pattern of exchanges, in that every visit is followed by a return visit, at the end of which balance is expected to be achieved.

Let us consider the development of friendship relations. In the course of a lifetime, a person meets many strangers of whom the congenial ones may become *otavo* or fictional *simbo*. He will be especially attracted to a few with whom he establishes a permanent kin-like bond, either on the *apa/eambo* or the *simbo* model. Occasions for such encounters may be feasts between previously hostile groups so that the groups of which the hereditary friends are members may not share the friendly feelings of the individuals who have become *otavo*, *namei*, *jao*, *simbo*, and the like. Thus, inter-community conflicts may come and go and the bond may continue over the generations. Far from this being a betrayal of group loyalties, the friendship